

## Article

## Indirect Passive in Japanese\*

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## Abstract

Hoshi 2013 claims that Japanese indirect passive sentence, which characteristically retains the embedded clause subject in the form of NP-*ni*, can also appear with a PP headed by *ni yotte* ‘by,’ in place of NP-*ni*. What allows this PP is said to be “spontaneous subject demotion” (Comrie 1977), which demotes NP-*ni* (subject) to NP-*ni yotte* (adjunct) without suppressing the accusative case assignment by the verb in the embedded clause.

However, the present paper demonstrates that NP-*ni yotte* is an independent adjunct structurally unrelated to NP-*ni* and that it therefore can co-occur with NP-*ni* in a single indirect passive sentence. The paper also points out theoretical difficulties in maintaining the analysis of NP-*ni yotte* by way of spontaneous subject demotion. It then shows that *ni*-indirect passive and *ni yotte*-indirect passive are actually one and the same, denying the existence of the latter as passive sentence distinct from the former.

## 1. Introduction

It is well known that Japanese indirect passive sentence may appear with a phrase headed by *ni* or *ni yotte*, both of which are said to form a phrase (roughly) equivalent to the *by*-phrase in English passive sentences:

(1) (= Hoshi’s (2013) (1a) and (2a))

- a. Zirō-ga dorobō-ni saihu-o nusum-are-ta.  
-NOM thief-DAT wallet-ACC steal-PASS-PAST

‘Jiro was affected by a thief’s stealing his wallet.’

- b. Zirō-ga dorobō-ni yotte saihu-o nusum-are-ta.  
by

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\* I would like to thank all the members of my advanced seminar in the falls of 2015 and 2016. This paper is an extension of the ideas that I first introduced in those classes. Kaoru Katata, Minami Mizushima, and Narumi Suzuki deserve special mention, since they went on to write their graduation theses on this particular topic as well. Also, I would like to extend my thanks to Michiko Fukasawa for her useful comments.

However, it is also well known that *ni yotte* is not allowed if the verb is an intransitive verb:<sup>1</sup>

(2) (= Hoshi's (26a))

Zirō-ga kodomo-ni/\*ni yotte nak-are-ta.  
 -NOM child-DAT/by cry-PASS-PAST  
 'Jiro was affected by a child's crying.'

Hiroto Hoshi (1999) argues that the reason for this is because *ni yotte* can only be used in direct passives, in which both (i) absorption of the external  $\theta$ -role and (ii) the verb's loss of the ability to assign the accusative case are observed, in accordance with Burzio's generalization (Burzio 1986). Because of (i), subject gets demoted to a PP adjunct (subject demotion), and because of (ii), object moves to subject position to get case (object promotion). Since intransitive verbs do not take an accusative object in the first place, this mechanism of direct passive formation simply doesn't come into play in cases like (2).

If so, however, how can the grammaticality of (1b) be explained? Notice that the accusative case on the direct object *saihu-o* is clearly visible, hence not absorbed in this sentence. In that sense, (1b) is similar to (2), for it doesn't involve object promotion. Following Kuroda 1979, Hiroto Hoshi (1999) offers a clever explanation for sentences like this as well, but Hoshi (2013) dismisses it and claims instead that (1b) actually constitutes evidence for the existence of indirect passive sentences with *ni yotte*. More specifically, he writes as follows (2013:349).

[T]he above "transitive-intransitive asymmetry" can be ascribed to the properties of the event interpretation denoted by passive verbs. On the assumption that the event interpretation is expressed by eventuality predicates that occur as light verbs (= *v*) (Hale and Keyser 1991, Huang 1997), I claim that two different types of indirect passives (*ni* indirect passives and *ni yotte* indirect passives) exist in Japanese, demonstrating that the postpositional phrase NP-*ni yotte* is adjoined only to *v*P denoting a causing event.

In this paper, I will scrutinize the arguments made for this claim and show that they all fail to establish the existence of *ni yotte* indirect passive that is different from *ni* indirect passive. I will then proceed to show that these two types of indirect passive sentence are actually one and the same by demonstrating that NP-*ni yotte* is a base-generated adjunct, not a demoted subject.

## 2. Claims

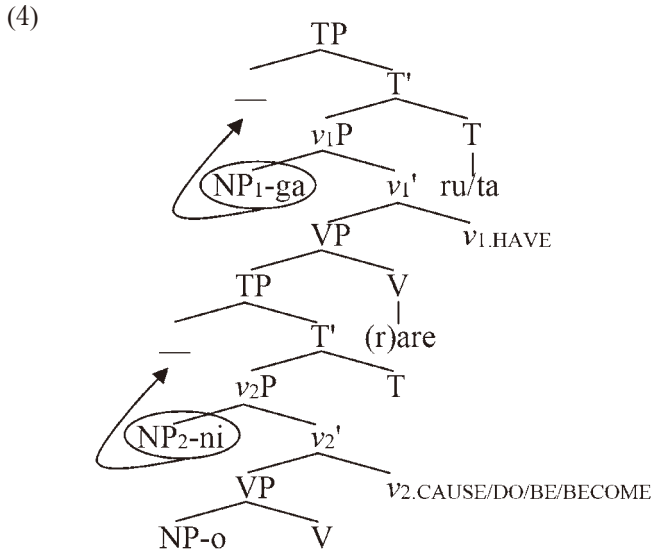
In what follows, the gist of the major claims of Hoshi 2013 is presented. Section 2.1 explains the internal structure of *ni* indirect passive, and section 2.2 that of *ni yotte* indirect passive. Section

2.3 then describes how the notion of “spontaneous demotion” (Comrie 1977) is used to explain the derivation of *ni yotte* indirect passive.

## 2.1 *Ni* indirect passive

(3) below (= Hoshi’s (18)) is an example of *ni* indirect passive, whose structural analysis is given in (4) (= Hoshi’s (20)).

- (3) Zirō-ga Hanako-ni musuko-o homer-are-ta.  
 -NOM -DAT son-ACC praise-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiro was affected by Hanako’s praising his son.’



Following Washio 1993, Hoshi assumes that there are two events involved in this complex sentence, namely, (i) Hanako’s praising of Jiro’s son, and (ii) Jiro’s getting affected by event (i). He further assumes that an eventuality predicate occurs as *v* (Huang 1997), so “HAVE appears as the matrix *v* (=  $v_{HAVE}$ ) in indirect passives and the amalgam of the matrix *V* (i.e., *-(r)are*) and  $v_{HAVE}$  assigns an affected (or experience [sic])  $\theta$ -role to the subject in [Spec, $v_1$ P] denoting an affecting (or experiencing) event” (2013:353). This is how Hoshi captures the fact that the matrix subject of an indirect passive sentence always receives the interpretation of getting affected by the event expressed by the embedded clause.

In contrast, the verb in the embedded clause can be of various event types, as the embedded *v* (=  $v_2$  in (4)) may be realized as  $v_{CAUSE}$  (= cause),  $v_{DO}$  (= action),  $v_{BE}$  (= state), and  $v_{BECOME}$  (= change of state), as shown in (5a-d) (= Hoshi’s (19a-d)), respectively.

- (5) a. Zirō-ga    nanimonoka-ni    hahaoya-o    koros-are-ta.    (cause)  
          -NOM someone-DAT    mother-ACC    kill-PASS-PAST  
          ‘Jiro was affected by someone’s killing his mother.’
- b. Zirō-ga    siranai    hito-ni    tegami-o    yom-are-ta.    (action)  
          -NOM not.know    person-DAT    letter-ACC    read-PASS-PAST  
          ‘Jiro was affected by a stranger’s reading his letter.’
- c. Zirō-ga    Hanako-ni    toire-no    naka-ni    ir-are-ta.    (state)  
          -NOM                    -DAT rest.room-GEN    inside-in    be-PASS-PAST  
          ‘Jiro was affected by Hanako’s being in the restroom.’
- d. Zirō-ga    hahaoya-ni    sin-are-ta.    (change of state)  
          -NOM                    -DAT die-PASS-PAST  
          ‘Jiro was affected by his mother’s dying.’

Aside from the lack of objective criteria in determining the predicate type of any given verb (to which we turn in section 3.2), what is strikingly peculiar about the analysis in (4) is the movement of NP<sub>2</sub>, which receives the external  $\theta$ -role of the embedded verb in Spec, $v_2$ P. Regarding this movement to the specifier position of the abstract nonfinite T, Hoshi specifically writes that “the dative NP escapes out of the embedded [ $v_2$ P] and raises to the embedded Spec,TP for Case assignment. Therefore, the dative NP can syntactically behave as a subject” (2013:354). As for the dative case assignor, Hoshi, citing his own previous work in 2007, further stipulates that “the dative Case marker *ni* is licensed by  $v_{HAVE}$  in the matrix clause” (ibid.). In other words, he is arguing for an instance of ECM (exceptional case marking) here, assuming that the dative case is a structural case.

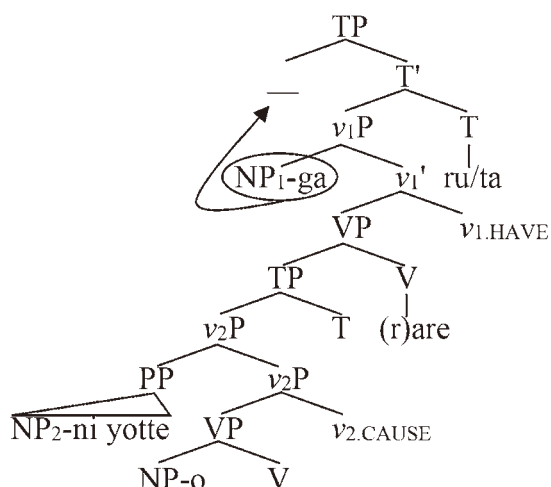
## 2.2 *Ni yotte* passive

Hoshi’s analysis of *ni yotte* passive crucially relies on the etymological history of *yotte*, which is derived from the verb *yoru* ‘cause’ (Kinsui 1997), and together with *ni*, it is said to form a complex postposition. The “causal” meaning of *yoru* is obvious in (6) below (= Hoshi’s (24)), “where dative NP (*insyu unten* ‘drunken driving’) indicates a causer, and the nominative NP (*kōtūziko* ‘traffic accident’), an effect brought about by the causer” (Hoshi 2013:355).

- (6) Keisatu-wa    [sono kōtūziko-ga                    kare-no insyu    unten-ni    yoru    to]  
          police-TOP    that    traffic.accident-NOM    he-GEN    drunken driving-DAT    cause COMP  
          syutyōsi-ta.  
          claim-PAST  
          ‘The police claimed that his drunken driving caused the traffic accident.’

This observation then leads Hoshi to propose that “the structure of *ni yotte* indirect passives is represented as in [(7)], where  $[NP_2\text{-}ni\ yotte]$  is adjoined to  $[v_2P_{\text{CAUSE}}]$ ” (2013:356).

(7)



What this structural analysis implies is that PPs headed by *ni yotte* are adjuncts that are semantically compatible only with verbs that are intrinsically associated with  $v_{\text{CAUSE}}$ . As empirical evidence, Hoshi presents the following example sentences:

(8) (= Hoshi's (26))

- a. Zirō-ga kodomo-ni/\*ni yotte nak-are-ta.  
 -NOM child-DAT/by cry-PASS-PAST  
 'Jiro was affected by a child's crying.'
- b. Boku-wa ame-ni/\*ni yotte hur-are-ta.  
 I-TOP rain-DAT/by fall-PASS-PAST  
 'I was affected by raining.'
- c. Zirō-ga hahaoya-ni/\*ni yotte sin-are-ta.  
 -NOM mother-DAT/by die-PASS-PAST  
 'Jiro was affected by his mother's dying.'

(9) (= Hoshi's (27))

- a. Zirō-ga siranai hito-ni/\*ni yotte tegami-o yom-are-ta.  
 -NOM not.know person-DAT/by letter-ACC read-PASS-PAST  
 'Jiro was affected by a stranger's reading his letter.'
- b. Zirō-ga Hanako-ni/\*ni yotte toire-no naka-ni ir-are-ta.  
 -NOM -DAT/by restroom-GEN inside-in be-PASS-PAST

‘Jiro was affected by Hanako’s being in the restroom.’

The intransitive verbs in (8a-c), namely *nak* ‘cry,’ *hur* ‘fall,’ and *sin* ‘die,’ are not verbs of the CAUSE type; the first two are of the DO type, and the last of the BECOME type. Therefore, the *ni yotte* phrases in these sentences lack their licenser,  $v_{\text{CAUSE}}$ , so the sentences all become ungrammatical if *ni yotte* is chosen over *ni*. Likewise, the transitive verbs *yom* ‘read’ in (9a) and *ir* ‘be’ in (9b) are of the DO type and of the BECOME type, respectively; therefore, *ni yotte* cannot be used in these sentences, either.<sup>2</sup>

Then, we predict that the *ni* passive in (5a), which contains a verb of the CAUSE type *koros* ‘kill,’ should be convertible into a legitimate *ni yotte* passive; indeed, this prediction is borne out, as is clear from the grammaticality of (10) (= Hoshi’s (7)). (This suggests that the verb *nusum* ‘steal’ too must be of the CAUSE type, since it accepts *ni yotte* as well, as shown in (1b).)

- (10) Zirō-ga      nanimonoka-ni yotte    hahaoya-o      koros-are-ta.  
          -NOM    someone-by                    mother-ACC    kill-PASS-PAST  
          ‘Jiro was affected by someone’s killing his mother.’

But there is a problem now. Notice that *koros* clearly assigns accusative case to its object *hahaoya-o* ‘mother-ACC’ in this sentence and therefore we expect the verb to assign its external  $\theta$ -role to its subject as well, in accordance with Burzio’s generalization. However, there is no subject to assign this  $\theta$ -role to; notice that *nanimonoka-ni yotte* ‘by someone’ is only an adjunct PP adjoined to  $v_2P$ , as is illustrated in (7), which lacks Spec, $v_2P$ , a  $\theta$ -position. Hoshi notices this and explains it by introducing the notion of “spontaneous demotion” (Comrie 1977), which we go over in the next section.

### 2.3 Spontaneous demotion

The process of passivation (e.g. Jaeggli 1986) is generally explained as follows. Attaching the passive morpheme to a transitive verb results in absorption of the external  $\theta$ -role of the verb, which simultaneously loses the ability to assign the accusative case. As a result, the direct object of the verb moves to Spec,TP in order to receive the nominative case from the finite T head (object promotion). As for the absorbed external (i.e. subject)  $\theta$ -role, it may be reassigned to a *by*-phrase, which now has the status of an adjunct (subject demotion). Thus, object promotion and subject demotion go hand in hand.

However, there are languages in which passivization is said to involve subject demotion without object promotion. Welsh, a VSO language, is reported to be one such language (Comrie 1977).<sup>3</sup> Look at (11) (= Hoshi’s (28)).

- (11) a. Lladdodd draig ddyn.                      b. Lladdwyd dyn (gan ddraig).  
           killed        dragon man                      was.killed man by dragon  
           ‘A dragon killed a man.’                      ‘A man was killed (by a dragon).’

(11b), an instance of impersonal passive sentence, is said to have undergone subject demotion, as shown in (12) below. But notice that the object stays in the same position as in (11a); this means that the subject position is empty. This analysis is supported by the fact that there is no agreement between the passivized verb *lladdwyd* and the object *dyn*. If *dyn* were in the empty subject position, it would trigger agreement on the verb, which is not the case in (11b).

- (12)
- |          |   |     |              |                  |
|----------|---|-----|--------------|------------------|
|          |   |     |              | subject demotion |
| Lladdwyd | — | dyn | (gan ddraig) |                  |
| V        | S | O   | (adjunct)    |                  |

Moreover, the cliticization of *i* ‘him’ to the sentence initial particle *fe* in the active sentence in (13a) (= Hoshi’s (29b)) is assumed to be possible only from object position. Hence, (13a) is regarded as having derived as in (13b).

- (13) a. Fe’i lladdodd draig                      b.                      cliticization  
           him killed dragon                      Fe lladdodd draig i  
           ‘A dragon killed him.’                      S                      O

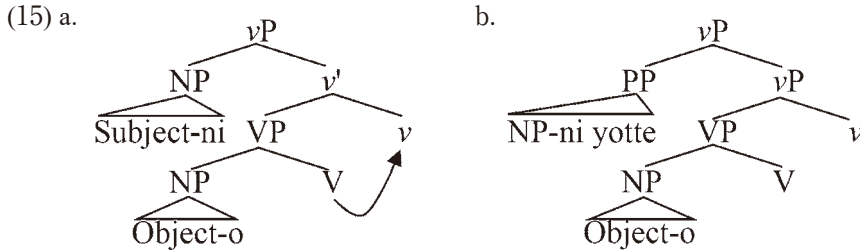
And this cliticization is observed in the impersonal passive sentence in (14a) (= Hoshi’s (29a)) as well, so this sentence must have derived as in (14b), where there is a gap in the subject position, as a consequence of subject demotion.

- (14) a. Fe’i lladdwyd (gan ddraig)                      b.                      cliticization  
           him was-killed by dragon                      Fe lladdwyd — i (gan ddraig)  
           ‘He was killed (by a dragon).’                      S                      O

Thus, UG seems to allow subject demotion that doesn’t accompany object promotion, which is known as “spontaneous subject demotion” (Comrie 1977), and Hoshi’s contention is that this UG option must be available to passivization in Japanese as well. That is, (10) above, whose embedded subject is now a demoted PP adjunct, is an instance of spontaneous demotion, which takes place without suppressing the accusative case assignment to the object.

But what triggers this special demotion operation? Regarding this matter, Hoshi first points out that “-(r)are can play no role in subject demotion because the syntactic relation between

-(*r*)are and *v* (or *V*) is not local: the nonfinite *T* intervenes between them” (2013:359). Therefore, stipulating that V-to-*v* movement in Japanese is optional in overt syntax, Hoshi proposes that the option of not overtly applying this movement, as illustrated in (15b) in contrast to (15a), triggers subject demotion.



According to Hoshi, “[s]ince an eventuality predicate in *v* is an abstract entity, the substantial element, namely, *V* must be associated with it for  $\theta$ -role assignment” (2013:359). Therefore, the V-to-*v* movement in (15a) qualifies *v* as a  $\theta$ -role assignor, and as such, *v* now assigns the external  $\theta$ -role to the subject NP suffixed by *ni*. However, if the V-to-*v* movement doesn’t take place before LF, *v* fails to be a  $\theta$ -assignor, triggering spontaneous subject demotion. That is, without a  $\theta$ -role, the subject in Spec,*vP* gets demoted to a PP-adjunct in a *vP*-adjoined position.

However, if this optional V-to-*v* movement is the reason for spontaneous subject demotion, it will overgenerate ungrammatical sentences, such as (16b) below.

(16) (= Hoshi’s (30))

- a. Keikenhōhuna gekai-ga mōtyō-o zyokyosi-ta.  
 experienced surgeon-NOM appendix-ACC remove-PAST  
 ‘An experienced surgeon removed the appendix.’
- b. \*Keikenhōhuna gekai-ni yotte mōtyō-o zyokyosi-ta.  
 by

*Zyokyo*s ‘remove’ is an ordinary transitive verb that comes with two  $\theta$ -roles to assign. In an active sentence in (16a), the two  $\theta$ -roles are each assigned to the subject and the object, on condition that the V-to-*v* movement in question does take place in overt syntax. However, if it doesn’t, spontaneous subject demotion will be triggered, giving rise to (16b), an ill-formed sentence.

In order to avoid this problem, Hoshi further proposes that the EPP is relevant only in finite clauses in Japanese. In this way, (16b), which is an independent finite sentence, is correctly eliminated as a violation of the EPP, for it lacks a subject in its Spec,TP. On the other hand, (10) is fine, because its embedded clause, which also lacks a subject, is nonfinite and therefore the requirement of satisfying the EPP doesn’t even arise for this sentence.



And this is the gist of the main claims of Hoshi 2013.

### 3. Problems

Let us now turn to problems. Section 3.1 concerns itself with the position of NP-*ni* in *ni* indirect passive, which is assumed to be Spec,TP. However, it will be shown that there is no evidence for the existence of this abstract TP in the embedded clause of an indirect passive sentence with NP-*ni*. Section 3.2 reveals problems with analyzing NP-*ni yotte* as a demoted subject that comes to have the status of an adjunct. It will also reveal that the semantic type of the eventuality predicate *v* doesn't have anything to do with the use of NP-*ni yotte* in indirect passive sentences.

#### 3.1 The position of *ni*-phrase

In *ni* indirect passive, the embedded subject is assumed to move from Spec,vP to Spec,TP, where it is stipulated to receive the dative case from the matrix *v*. “Therefore, the dative NP can syntactically behave as a subject. This is empirically true” (2013:354), writes Hoshi, who proceeds to give (17) – (19) (= his (21) – (23)) as evidence.

- (17) a. Zirō<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni zibun<sub>1/2</sub>-no heya-de hahaoya-o satugais-are-ta.  
           -NOM       -DAT self-GEN   room-in mother-ACC murder-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiro was affected by Hanako’s murdering his mother in his/her room.’  
       b. Zirō<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni yotte zibun<sub>1/\*2</sub>-no heya-de hahaoya-o satugais-are-ta.  
   by

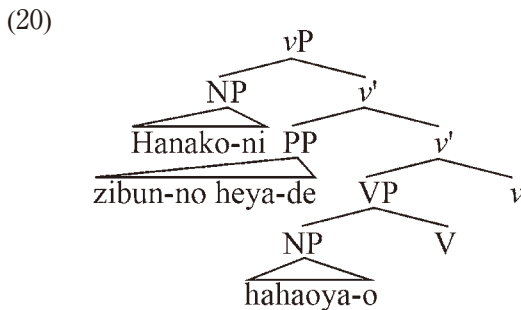
- (18) a. Zirō<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni [<sub>NP</sub> pro<sub>1/2</sub> kaminoke]-o kir-are-ta.  
           -NOM       -DAT       hair-ACC       cut-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiro was affected by Hanako’s cutting his/her hair.’  
       b. Zirō<sub>1</sub>-ga Hanako<sub>2</sub>-ni yotte [<sub>NP</sub> pro<sub>1/\*2</sub> kaminoke]-o kir-are-ta.  
   by

- (19) a. Zirō-ga       san-nin-no       sensei-ni/ni yotte ronbun-o kyakkas-are-ta.  
           -NOM   three-CL-GEN teacher-DAT/by   paper-ACC reject-PASS-PAST  
           ‘Jiro was affected by three teachers’ rejecting his paper.’  
       b. Zirō-ga sensei-ni/\*ni yotte san-nin ronbun-o kyakkas-are-ta.

(17a) shows that *Hanako-ni* must be in an A-position, since it binds *zibun* ‘self,’ a subject-oriented anaphor. This contrasts with *Hanako-ni yotte* in (17b), which is a PP adjunct, and as such, it fails to c-command – hence, cannot bind – the anaphor. Regarding (18a-b), Hoshi writes that “pro must

be c-commanded by its appropriate antecedent” (2013:355). Since (18a) allows the *pro* = *Hanako* reading, it must be the case that *Hanako-ni* in this sentence c-commands *pro*, which must be in the possessive form. On the other hand, (18b) doesn’t allow this reading, so we can’t assume the same structural relation holding between *Hanako-ni yotte* and *pro* in this sentence. As for (19b), which, unlike (19a), contains *san-nin* ‘3-CL’ as a floating numeral quantifier (NQ), only *sensei-ni*, but not the PP *sensei-ni yotte*, can be understood as the antecedent of *san-nin*.<sup>4</sup> According to Hoshi, “[t]his is because the antecedent NP within PP cannot c-command the NQ (Miyagawa 1989)” (ibid.).

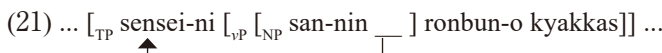
However, these facts do not seem to constitute evidence for the claimed A-movement of NP-*ni* from Spec,vP to Spec,TP. First of all, given the fact that Spec,vP may reasonably be regarded as a subject position (which is arguably the reason why Kitagawa and Kuroda (1992) as well as Washio (1989-1990) analyze *-(r)are* in indirect passives as taking vP, as opposed to TP, as its complement; see Hoshi’s footnote 3), so the binding facts observed in (17a-b) only show the NP status of *Hanako-ni* and the PP status of *Hanako-ni yotte*. Notice that *Hanako-ni* can indeed c-command the anaphor *zibun* from Spec,vP, an A-position, as shown in (20).



As for *Hanako-ni yotte*, we already know from sections 2.2 and 2.3 that it is assumed to appear in an adjoined position as a PP adjunct, but even if it appeared in the same position as *Hanako-ni* in (20), the said binding wouldn’t be possible, since the NP within the PP couldn’t c-command *zibun*.

As for (18), what Hoshi seems to be saying is that the *pro* within the NP object is a bound variable pronoun; otherwise, c-command by its antecedent wouldn’t be a licensing condition for it. Assuming so, we again notice that (18a-b) only show the categorial difference between the NP *Hanako-ni* and the PP *Hanako-ni yotte*. That is, whereas the former c-commands the *pro*, the NP within the latter doesn’t. Obviously, this doesn’t provide evidence for the claimed A-movement of *Hanako-ni* to Spec,TP.

Let’s now turn to (19b). The following derivation must have been intended for the embedded clause of this sentence with *sensei-ni*:



This is what we surmise, since (19b) is compared with (19a), in which the relevant NP has the form of  $[_{NP} \text{ san-nin-no sensei}]\text{-ni}$ .<sup>5</sup>

However, the sequence of *sensei-ni san-nin* has long been regarded as a single constituent (e.g. Kamio 1983) (but see endnote 4). Then, (21) can equally be analyzed as in (22), which does not contain a floating NQ, much less a TP projection.

(22) ...  $[_{VP} [_{NP} \text{ sensei-ni san-nin}] \text{ ronbun-o kyakkas}]$  ...

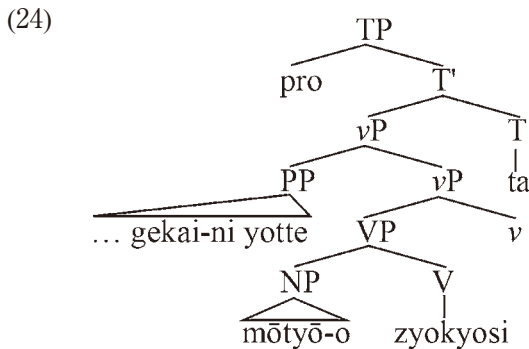
Therefore, (17) – (19) do not seem to present themselves as solid empirical evidence for the claimed A-movement of the embedded subject suffixed by *ni* in indirect passive sentences.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, this A-movement is dubious from a theoretical perspective as well. But first, let me note one legitimate point Hoshi makes in explaining the implausibility of positing an expletive *pro* in the active sentence in (16b), in which spontaneous subject demotion is assumed to have taken place. (16b) is repeated as (23).

(23) \**Keikenhōhuna gekai-ni yotte mōtyō-o zyokyosi-ta.*  
 experienced surgeon-by appendix-ACC remove-PAST  
 ‘(Intended) An experienced surgeon removed the appendix.’

If the optional V-to-v movement does not take place here, the subject *keikenhōhuna gekai* ‘experienced surgeon’ fails to be assigned a  $\theta$ -role, so it becomes an adjunct PP (i.e. spontaneous subject demotion). Then, nothing fills Spec,TP, violating the EPP. Notice that the EPP is very much relevant in (23), because this sentence contains a finite T, as was explained in section 2.3. And this is how the ungrammaticality of (23) is explained in Hoshi 2013.

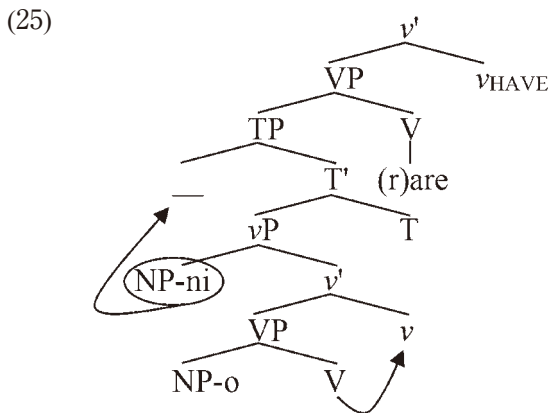
However, what if expletive *pro* occupies the Spec,TP of (23)? Then, the EPP will immediately be satisfied, giving rise to the following reasonable structure:



But Hoshi (2013:360) denies this possibility by stating that “expletive *pro* has neither PF nor LF property, so that its existence can never be justified externally (Roberts 2005),” and I agree. Therefore, (23) can still be regarded as a case of EPP violation. With this much in mind, let’s now reexamine the claimed existence of embedded T in indirect passive sentences.

Unlike the finite T in (24), this abstract T never manifests itself morphologically, still less phonologically. Nor does it semantically contribute to any given indirect passive sentence, in which it is stipulated to occur. Moreover, being a nonfinite element, this T is assumed to be exempt from the requirement of the EPP, thus not hosting the EPP-feature, either. Therefore, there seems to be absolutely no *raison d’être* for this abstract category.

And yet, Hoshi claims that the embedded subject NP in *ni* indirect passive moves to the specifier position of this T for dative case assignment by the matrix  $v_{HAVE}$ ; see section 2.1. But this is problematic. Look at (25), which shows the relevant part of the claimed derivation of an indirect passive sentence with NP-*ni*.



Notice that the matrix V *-(r)are* is closer to NP-*ni* than the matrix  $v_{HAVE}$  is — even after the alleged subject raising. In that sense, the syntactic relation between  $v_{HAVE}$  and NP-*ni* is not local; the matrix V still intervenes between them, even if we assume that the maximal projection of the abstract nonfinite T is somehow “transparent” for the purpose of case assignment. Moreover, in the absence of the EPP-feature on this nonfinite T, there seems to be no movement-inducing feature or mechanism that guides NP-*ni* to Spec,TP in the first place.

In this connection, it will be instructive to see how accusative case assignment is carried out, since there is no good reason to think that it is qualitatively any different from dative case assignment; in fact, both accusative and dative are considered structural cases (see section 2.1). Regarding accusative case assignment, Hoshi writes in his footnote 8 that “[it] is not affected by V-to-*v* movement on the assumption that unlike  $\theta$ -role assignment, Case is licensed by feature valuation through Agree (Chomsky 2001).” That is to say, case assignment structurally requires

only c-command by a case licenser (i.e. case assignor), provided that there are no potential case assignors that are closer to the case assignee. In (25), in which there aren't any potential case assignors competing with the embedded V (= accusative case assignor), the embedded V does c-command the object NP even after V-to-*v* movement has taken place. Therefore, it can successfully assign accusative case to it (i.e. valuing accusative the unvalued case feature on the NP) without having the NP move at all.

Returning to the main issue of dative case assignment, notice that  $v_{HAVE}$  c-commands NP-*ni* in Spec,vP in (25). The matrix V *-(r)are* and the abstract nonfinite T are irrelevant here, since they are not case assignors. Therefore,  $v_{HAVE}$  should be able to license the dative case on NP-*ni* in Spec,vP. Hence, movement on the part of the NP is not necessary.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, it seems clear that there is no evidence for the claimed existence of abstract nonfinite T in indirect passive sentences in Japanese, precluding the possibility of subject raising on the part of NP-*ni*.

### 3.2 Adjunct status of NP-*ni yotte* and arbitrary classification of eventuality predicates

It is standard to assume that the *by*-phrase in a direct passive sentence in English is an adjunct, whose appearance is entirely optional (e.g. Jaeggli 1986). This assumption is reasonable, since a passive sentence like (26) is indeed grammatical without a *by*-phrase, to which the absorbed external  $\theta$ -role may be reassigned when the *by*-phrase does appear in the sentence. But this reassignment of the absorbed  $\theta$ -role doesn't make the optional *by*-phrase an argument again.

(26) English is spoken (by them) in America.

In this respect, look at (27), an indirect passive sentence obtained by removing *dorobō-ni yotte* 'by a thief' from (1b). The grammaticality of this sentence indicates the adjunct status of the *ni yotte* phrase as well.

(27) Zirō-ga      saihu-o      nusum-are-ta.  
       -NOM      wallet-ACC steal-PASS-PAST  
       'Jiro had his wallet stolen.'

But we have to assume that (27) would be ungrammatical if it were derived from (1a) by removing *dorobō-ni* 'a thief-DAT,' since this *ni*-phrase is a  $\theta$ -role-bearing subject in Hoshi's analysis; in other words, it is an obligatory element that needs to be expressed without fail in terms of the Projection Principle.

To see this more clearly, let's review the analysis of external  $\theta$ -role assignment in (15). If V-to-*v* movement takes place in overt syntax, the external  $\theta$ -role of the verb is assigned to NP-*ni* in

Spec,vP, as illustrated in (15a); if it doesn't, no external  $\theta$ -role is assigned, so NP-*ni* gets demoted to a PP adjunct, as shown in (15b). However, Hoshi assumes "that V-to-v movement can take place in LF on the assumption that  $\theta$ -role must be somehow discharged to NP-*ni yotte* adjoined to  $vP_{\text{CAUSE}}$  in LF" (his footnote 9). Granted that this assumption is correct, this late  $\theta$ -assignment still doesn't repromote the NP to an argument; otherwise, the grammaticality of (27) wouldn't be explained. In that sense, the LF  $\theta$ -assignment must be on a par with the reassignment of external  $\theta$ -role to the optional *by*-phrase in English passive sentences.

Now observe the ungrammaticality of the following sentences, which are all derived by removing the *ni yotte* phrase from the three sentences in (8a-c):

- (28) a. \*Zirō-ga      nak-are-ta.  
               -NOM   cry-PASS-PAST  
               'Jiro was affected by crying.'
- b. \*Boku-wa    hur-are-ta.  
               I-TOP    fall-PASS-PAST  
               'I was affected by falling.'
- c. \*Zirō-ga    sin-are-ta.  
               -NOM   die-PASS-PAST  
               'Jiro was affected by dying.'

Unlike (27), these sentences all give the impression that the subject of the nonfinite embedded clause is missing,<sup>8</sup> although the EPP is not supposed to be relevant here. This is mysterious, since there should be a valid option of not applying V-to-v movement within the vP of the embedded clause, which should trigger spontaneous subject demotion without a problem. The demoted subject in the form of NP-*ni yotte* may be incompatible with the eventuality type of the embedded verb (see the explanation about (8a-c) above), but being an adjunct, it doesn't have to be added to the sentence at all. The ungrammaticality of (28a-c) thus poses a difficulty on empirical grounds to the proposed analysis of *ni yotte* indirect passive with the strategy of spontaneous demotion.

Moreover, the classification of eventuality predicates seems arbitrary and capricious as well. For example, (9a) with *ni yotte* is deemed ungrammatical precisely because *yom* 'read' "denotes an action" (Hoshi 2013:356) when *ni yotte* is compatible only with the eventuality predicate  $v_{\text{CAUSE}}$ . (9a) is repeated as (29) below.

- (29) Zirō-ga      siranai      hito-ni/\*ni yotte    tegami-o    yom-are-ta.  
               -NOM   not.know   person-DAT/by   letter-ACC   read-PASS-PAST  
               'Jiro was affected by a stranger's reading his letter.'

The question is, why, then, isn't *koros* 'kill' in (5a) be regarded as denoting an action as well? For that matter, isn't *nusum* 'steal' in (1) also an action verb that is selected by the light verb  $v_{DO}$ ? As we saw in (10) and (1b) above, however, these verbs can appear with *ni yotte*. Now, is that the reason why they are considered of the CAUSE type? If yes, we would fall into a circular argument. Why are these verbs considered of the CAUSE type, not of the DO type? — Because they can appear with *ni yotte*. Why can they appear with *ni yotte*? — Because they are CAUSE-type verbs. Incidentally, all my informants disagreed with the judgment given to (29) with *ni yotte*; they unanimously accepted that sentence as a totally grammatical sentence. Does that mean that *yom* should then be a CAUSE-type verb, too?

In reality, there doesn't seem to be anything intrinsically causal about the verbs we saw above that can appear with *ni yotte*. Actually, the usability of *ni yotte* in an indirect passive sentence doesn't seem to be related to the semantic type of any given verb. In fact, even the verbs in (8a-c) and that in (9b) (none of which are considered to be of the CAUSE type) can indeed appear with a PP headed by *ni yotte*, as shown in (30).<sup>9</sup>

- (30) a. Kodomo-ga    kūhuku-ni yotte        nai-ta.  
          child-NOM    empty.stomach-by    cry-PAST  
          'The child cried from hunger.'
- b. nanganteikiatu-ni yotte        hut-ta        yuki  
          south.coast.low.pressure-by    fall-PAST    snow  
          'the snow that fell owing to a low atmospheric pressure off the south coast'
- c. Hirosima-no        genbakutōka-ni yotte        sinda    titioya  
          Hiroshima-GEN    atomic.bomb.dropping-by    died    father  
          'Father, who died from the dropping of an atomic bomb on Hiroshima'
- d. Gakusei-ga    sizi-ni yotte    (sanzi-made)    kyōsitu-ni    ita.  
          student-NOM    instruction-by    3.o'clock-until    classroom-in    be-PAST  
          'Students were in the classroom (until 3 o'clock) on instructions.'

Notice that the *ni yotte* PPs here all express a cause/reason, just as the verb phrase *kare-no insyu unten-ni yoru* 'be caused by his drunk driving' in (6) does. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (8a-c) and (9b) with *ni yotte* cannot be due to semantic incompatibility between *ni yotte* and the eventuality predicate *v* associated with each of the verbs in those sentences.

#### 4. An alternative analysis

I would like to offer an alternative analysis now. Compare the following sentences with (1a-b), which are said to share the same meaning.

- (31) a. Watasi-wa wazato dorobō-ni sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.  
           -TOP deliberately thief-DAT wallet-ACC steal-PASS-PAST  
           ‘I deliberately had my wallet stolen by a thief.’  
       b. #Watasi-wa wazato dorobō-ni yotte sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.  
   by  
           ‘(Lit.) By way of a thief, I deliberately had my wallet stolen.’

Unlike (1b), (31b) sounds degraded. This is surprising if *dorobō-ni yotte* in (1b), which is assumed to receive in LF the same  $\theta$ -role as the one that *dorobō-ni* in (31a) does, is really functioning as a semantic subject of the embedded verb. In this regard, the fully acceptable sentences in (32a-b) below seem to reveal the true structure of (31b) as well as that of (1b).

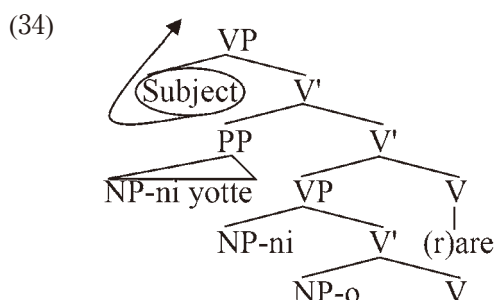
- (32) a. Watasi-wa wazato inemurisuru koto-ni yotte sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.  
           deliberately doze.off thing-by  
           ‘By dozing off, I deliberately had my wallet stolen.’  
       b. Watasi-wa inemurisuru koto-ni yotte wazato sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.

In these sentences, the PP *inemurisuru koto-ni yotte* modifies the matrix verb *-(r)are*. As for the subject-oriented adverb *wazato* ‘deliberately,’ it can modify either the verb *inemurisuru* ‘doze off’ within the *ni yotte* phrase or the matrix verb *-(r)are* in (32a), but we are only after the latter modification relation here, which is unambiguously obtained in (32b). Notice that the two adverbial elements *wazato* and *inemurisuru koto-ni yotte* are semantically/pragmatically compatible with each other. But this is not the case with the combination of *wazato* and *dorobō-ni yotte* in (31b), for thieves typically aren’t predictable or controllable at one’s will. And this seems to be the reason for the oddity of (31b), which will not improve even if the order of *wazato* and *dorobō-ni yotte* is reversed:

- (33) #Watasi-wa dorobō-ni yotte wazato sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.  
           ‘(Lit.) By way of a thief, I deliberately had my wallet stolen.’

Therefore, I am led to propose for the relevant part of the structure of *ni yotte* passive the structural analysis in (34), which is represented in an old framework without the light verb *v*. In accordance with the discussion in section 3.1, it doesn’t include the abstract embedded T, either.





(34) contrasts with (7) in that it has the PP adjunct headed by *ni yotte* as an element of the matrix VP. This immediately explains why the semantic/pragmatic compatibility matters between it and the subject-oriented adverb *wazato*, which is also an element of the matrix clause.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, (34) has NP-*ni* along with NP-*ni yotte*, another difference from (7). Indeed, I am suggesting that even in (32a-b), there is NP-*ni* and that this NP is realized as a pro, which in fact is replaceable by a lexical phrase, such as *dorobō-ni*, as in (35).

- (35) Watasi-wa inemurisuru koto-ni yotte wazato pro/dorobō-ni sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.  
 thief-DAT  
 ‘By dozing off, I deliberately had my wallet stolen by a thief.’

This means that even (1b) must contain a *pro* independently of *dorobō-ni yotte*, as in (36a).

- (36) a. Zirō-ga dorobō<sub>i</sub>-ni yotte pro<sub>i</sub> sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.  
 b. <sup>#</sup>Zirō-ga dorobō<sub>i</sub>-ni yotte dorobō<sub>i</sub>-ni sai-hu-o nusum-are-ta.

As (36b) shows, however, if this *pro* is actually replaced by *dorobō-ni*, it immediately results in semantic awkwardness (i.e. redundancy), although (36b) does represent the logical meaning of (36a). But this kind of redundancy is naturally expected in a *pro*-drop language like Japanese. In fact, it is also felt in a structurally well-formed sentence such as (37b), in which the choice of the overt pronominal *kare-ga* over a *pro* in the embedded clause feels excessively redundant; nevertheless, it is a fact that (37b) faithfully represents the meaning of (37a).

- (37) a. John<sub>i</sub>-wa kyō pro<sub>i</sub> benkyōsi-yoo to omot-ta.  
 -TOP today study will that think-PAST  
 'John<sub>i</sub> thought that pro<sub>i</sub> would study today.'  
 b. #John<sub>i</sub>-wa kyō kare<sub>i</sub>-ga benkyōsi-yoo to omot-ta.  
 he

There is more direct empirical evidence for the analysis in (34). First, look at (38), which would be analyzed as a sentence with spontaneous subject demotion by Hoshi; that is, when V-to-v movement optionally fails to take place within the embedded *vP* in overt syntax, *Hanako* gets demoted to an adjunct PP *Hanako-ni yotte* and is adjoined to *vP*, receiving the external  $\theta$ -role of *yabur* ‘break’ in LF.

- (38) Tarō-ga Hanako-ni yotte kiroku-o yabur-are-ta.  
 -NOM by record-ACC break-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Taro had his record broken by Hanako.’

Now, observe (39), which contains NP-*ni* in addition to the PP *Hanako-ni yotte*.

- (39) Tarō-ga Hanako-ni yotte onna-ni(-mo) kiroku-o yabur-are-ta.  
 woman-DAT-even  
 ‘(Lit.) By Hanako, Taro had his record broken even by a woman. [By being broken by Hanako, Taro’s record has been broken even by a woman.]’

This sentence, which directly supports the analysis in (34), isn’t derivable by the spontaneous demotion analysis, which cannot have *Hanako-ni yotte* and *onna-ni* simultaneously.

Let us now discuss case assignment. To do that, we first need to review some facts about the so-called NPI (negative polarity item) *sika*, which will be relevant very shortly. (40a-b) are from Tsujimura 1993. ((40a-b) are Tsujimura’s (3) and (4), respectively).

- (40) a. Tarō-ga sakana-sika tabe-nai.  
 -NOM fish-SIKA eat-NEG  
 ‘Taro eats only fish.’  
 b. \*Hanako-ga [Tarō-ga sakana-sika tabe-ru] -to iwa-nak-atta.  
 -NOM -NOM fish-SIKA eat-NONPAST -COMP say-NEG-PAST  
 ‘(Intended) Hanako said that Taro eats only fish.’

*Sika* must be licensed by a negative morpheme such as *nai*, and both *sika* and *nai* must be in the same clause in order for that licensing to take effect. In (40a), these two conditions are met, so the sentence is grammatical. But *sika* and the negative morpheme are not clausemates in (40b), and the resulting sentence is ungrammatical.

Now consider (41), which is obtained from (1a) by adding *sika* to its object *saihu-o*.

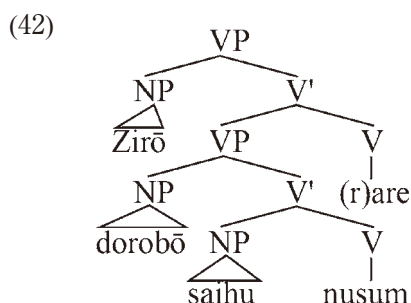
(41) Zirō-ga dorobō-ni saihu-sika nusum-are-nak-atta.

SIKA NEG

‘Jiro had only his wallet stolen by a thief.’

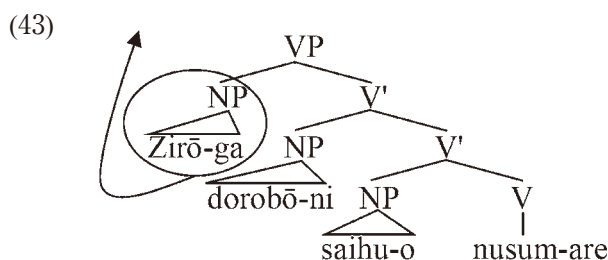
The grammaticality of this sentence reveals the sentence’s mono-clausal status. This must be due to restructuring of *nusum* and *-(r)are*; see Tsujimura 1993 for the same reasoning for her analysis of restructuring involving purpose/gerundive clauses.

Now to the main point. Since “pure Merge in  $\theta$ -position is required of (and restricted to) arguments” (Chomsky 2000:103), the derivation of (1a) must start with the following structure:



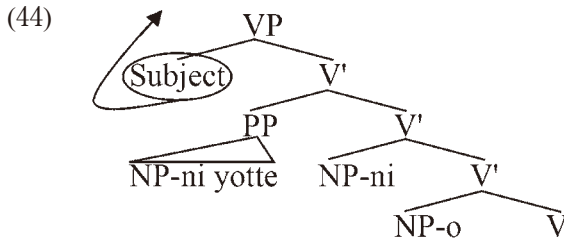
In this base configuration, *nusum*, which is a two-place predicate, assigns its internal  $\theta$ -role (THEME) to *saihu* and external  $\theta$ -role (AGENT) to *dorobō*. Likewise, *-(r)are*, which too is a two-place predicate, assigns its internal  $\theta$ -role (PROPOSITION) to the lower VP and external  $\theta$ -role (EXPERIENCER) to *Zirō*. Case assignment hasn’t taken place yet in (42).

Subsequently, *nusum* and *-(r)are* are combined, giving rise to a restructured single VP, as shown in (43). This tree diagram indicates that the newly created verb *nusum-are* syntactically takes *dorobō(-ni)* and *saihu(-o)* as its complements, and *Zirō(-ga)* as its subject. Case assignment is now ready to be carried out.



As a regular transitive verb, *nusum* has the ability to assign the accusative case. Under the assumption that *-(r)are* is a dative case assignor (which is similar to Hoshi’s idea that the *v* associated with *-(r)are* licenses the dative case on NP-*ni*), the restructured verb *nusum-are* comes

to have the ability to assign the dative case as well. Thus, it proceeds to assign the dative and accusative case to its two complements, in much the same way as ditransitive verbs, such as *ager* ‘give,’ *okur* ‘send,’ *syōkais* ‘introduce,’ etc., do. As for the subject *Zirō(-ga)*, it receives the nominative case in the usual way as it moves up to satisfy the EPP. And it is at this stage of the derivation where NP-*ni yotte*, an adjunct PP, is added to the sentence, giving rise to a structural representation along the lines of (44).



This analysis can easily accommodate indirect passive involving an intransitive verb as well. Take, for example, (8c) with NP-*ni*, repeated as (45).

- (45) *Zirō-ga hahaoya-ni sin-are-ta.*  
 -NOM mother-DAT die-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Jiro was affected by his mother’s dying.’

Being an intransitive verb, *sin* ‘die’ doesn’t have the ability to assign the accusative case. Therefore, the restructured verb *sin-are* comes to have the ability to assign only the dative case.

And this is the syntax of Japanese indirect passive that I infer from all the evidence presented above.

## 5. Conclusion

As is clear from the analysis in (44), Japanese indirect passive does not involve object promotion or subject demotion. This analysis also indicates that the distinction between *ni* passive and *ni yotte* passive is merely an illusion, since they are, after all, one and the same. We get the impression that a sentence like (1a) is a *ni* indirect passive only because no adjunct PP headed by *ni yotte* is used in the sentence. Likewise, (1b) appears to be a *ni yotte* indirect passive, but it in fact contains a  $\theta$ -role-bearing NP-*ni*, which just happens to be realized as a pro. In this regard, the existence of a sentence like (39) is crucial, since it constitutes empirical evidence for this analysis, by having non-pro NP-*ni* and NP-*ni yotte* concurrently.

As for the nature of the passive verb *-(r)are*, it is a restructuring verb that doesn’t affect

the case and  $\theta$ -role assigning properties of the head of the VP it takes as its complement. Hence, Japanese indirect passive indirectly observes Burzio's generalization, rendering unnecessary the adoption of spontaneous subject demotion, which is reported to occur in languages like Welsh.

Since the proposed analysis in section 4 doesn't involve absorption of any  $\theta$ -role, I need to make two rather minor, nonetheless important, points before closing this paper. First, the grammaticality of (27), repeated below as (46a), cannot be due to subject demotion. Actually, it is due to the existence of a *pro*, which appears in place of NP-*ni*, as shown in (46b). And this *pro* receives the external  $\theta$ -role from *nusum*.

- (46) a. Zirō-ga      saihu-o      nusum-are-ta.  
               -NOM   wallet-ACC   steal-PASS-PAST  
               'Jiro had his wallet stolen.'  
       b. Zirō-ga *pro* saihu-o nusum-are-ta.

Second, in section 2.3, the sentences involving intransitive verbs in (28a-c) were all presented as ungrammatical sentences, but that judgment was due only to the assumption that NP-*ni*, as well as its demoted (hence adjunct) variant NP-*ni yotte*, was entirely missing in those sentences. As (47a-c) indicate, however, they are structurally fine with a *pro*, which does receive a  $\theta$ -role from the embedded verb in each of the sentences.

- (47) a. Zirō-ga      *pro*      nak-are-ta.  
               -NOM                cry-PASS-PAST  
               'Jiro was affected by *pro*'s crying.'  
       b. Boku-wa *pro*    hur-are-ta.  
               I-TOP                fall-PASS-PAST  
               'I was affected by *pro*'s falling.'  
       c. Zirō-ga      *pro*      sin-are-ta.  
               -NOM                die-PASS-PAST  
               'Jiro was affected by *pro*'s dying.'

The full grammatical status of (47a-c) parallels that given to the active sentences in (48a-c), which too would be deemed ungrammatical without a *pro*.

- (48) a. *pro* nai-ta.      b. *pro*    hut-ta      c. *pro*    sin-da.  
               cry-PAST                fall-PAST                die-PAST  
               'pro cried.'      'pro fell.'      'pro died.'

Moreover, it is not difficult to find in actual conversations utterances that have the structures of (47a-c):

(49) Ore, pro mata nak-are-ta/sin-are-ta.

I again cry-PASS-PAST/die-PASS-PAST

'I was affected by pro's crying/dying again.'

(50) A: Kyō-mo pro<sub>1</sub> pro<sub>2</sub> hur-are-ta no? (pro<sub>1</sub> = you, pro<sub>2</sub> = *ame-ni* 'rain-DAT')

today-too fall-PASS-PAST Q

'Were you rained on today, too?'

B: Un, pro<sub>1</sub> pro<sub>2</sub> hur-are-ta. (pro<sub>1</sub> = I, pro<sub>2</sub> = *ame-ni* 'rain-DAT')

yes fall-PASS-PAST

'Yes, I was.'

Therefore, it seems safe to conclude that the analysis in (44) receives ample empirical support.

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## Endnotes

- 1 Under the usual assumption that NP-*ni yotte* is a PP-ad adjunct resulting from subject demotion, that is. See section 4 for a different view.
- 2 Although I believe *ir* ‘be, stay’ is an unaccusative verb, I assume that it is a regular transitive verb at this time just for the sake of the present discussion.
- 3 Hoshi (2013:357) states that Welsh is a VOS language, but this must be a careless mistake on his part.
- 4 I do not get the reported difference in grammaticality between *ni* and *ni yotte* in (19b). To me, both are equally bad, meaning that *san-nin* cannot be associated with *sensei-ni*, either. This observation goes against the widely-held view that a sequence like *sensei-ni san-nin* forms a constituent (e.g. Kamio 1983). However, pursuing this matter is beyond the scope of this paper, so I must leave it for another occasion.
- 5 This movement in (21) seems like a movement of a non-constituent, given the fact that the dative case is assigned to the whole of the NP *san-nin-no sensei*. In order to circumvent this inconvenient situation, one might consider moving *san-nin(-no)* out of the NP first and then apply remnant-movement to [<sub>NP</sub> *t sensei*]-*ni*. This strategy looks clever (although it appears to violate the Proper Binding Condition (Fiengo 1977)), but it requires independent non-ad hoc motivation, which seems difficult to come by.
- 6 In order to show that the subject of a *ni yotte* indirect passive sentence originates in the matrix clause, Hoshi gives the sentences in (ia-b) (= his (15a-b)).

- (i) a. San-nin-no      gakusei-ga      gatkōtōkyoku-ni yotte      Suzuki-kyōzyu-no  
       3-CL-GEN      students-NOM      school.authorities-by      professor-GEN  
       meiyo-o      kizutuker-are-ta.  
       honor-ACC      sully-PASS-PAST

- ‘Three students were affected by the school authorities’ sullyng Prof. Suzuki’s honor.’  
 b. \*Gakusei<sub>1</sub>-ga gatkōtōkyoku-ni yotte san-nin<sub>1</sub> Suzuki-kyōzyu-no meiyo-o kizutuker-are-ta.

Notice that *san-nin(-no)*, which directly attaches *gakusei-ga* in (ia), appears as a floating NQ in (ib). The claimed ungrammaticality of (ib) is said to be expected if *gakusei-ga* is base-generated in the subject position of the matrix clause, not undergoing object promotion. This is so, because object promotion typically allows an NQ to float, as shown in the direct passive sentence in (ii) (= Hoshi’s (16b)).

- (ii) Gakusei<sub>1</sub>-ga nanimonoka-ni yotte t<sub>1</sub> san-nin<sub>1</sub> satugais-are-ta.  
 student-NOM somebody-by 3-CL murder-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Three students were murdered by someone.’

The point is well taken, but the oddity of (ib) cannot be syntactic ill-formedness, since it’s easy to come up with sentences with the same structure that sound just fine. (iii) below is one such example.

- (iii) Zyukensei<sub>1</sub>-ga gakubutyō-ni yotte san-nin<sub>1</sub> gōkaku-o torikes-are-ta.  
 applicant-NOM dean-by 3-CL acceptance-ACC cancel-PASS-PAST  
 ‘Three students had their acceptances cancelled by the dean.’

- 7 If we follow the reason for V-to-v movement in section 2.3, *-(r)are* in (25) has to move to  $v_{HAVE}$  for external  $\theta$ -assignment as well. This is so, because the abstract  $v_{HAVE}$  needs the help of V, a substantial element, for this purpose.
- 8 Unless there is NP-*ni* realized as *pro* in the relevant Spec,TP, that is. We will come back to this point in section 4.
- 9 (30b) is from *Tōmu Morita-no “Tenki-de kiru”* [Team Morita’s “Cut by the weather”], February 27, 2008, [https://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/wth\\_map/52061572.html?s%253Ddart\\_cmt%2526pftarget1%253D%2526target2%253D](https://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/wth_map/52061572.html?s%253Ddart_cmt%2526pftarget1%253D%2526target2%253D), and (30c) from *Real Sound*, December 17, 2015, <http://realsound.jp/movie/2015/12/post-615.html>.
- 10 Hoshi too uses a subject-oriented adverb in his argument to support his structural analysis of *ni yotte* indirect passive. Look at (ia-b), which are his (17a-b) (where there are clear errors, such as his translation of *keisatu-ni yotte taihos-are-ta* as ‘punished by the school authorities’ in (ib); I have taken the liberty of fixing these errors in (ia-b)).

- (i) a. Gakusei-ga orokanimo keisatu-ni yotte Suzuki-kyōzyu-no  
 student-NOM stupidly police-by professor-GEN  
 migara-o kōsokus-are-ta.  
 person-ACC detain-PASS-PAST  
 ‘It was stupid of students to have Prof. Suzuki detained by the police.’
- b. \*Gakusei<sub>1</sub>-ga orokanimo keisatu-ni yotte t<sub>1</sub> taihos-are-ta.  
 student-NOM stupidly police-by arrest-PASS-PAST  
 ‘It was stupid of students to be arrested by the police.’



Regarding these sentences, Hoshi writes, “[*(ia)*] is in sharp contrast with [*(ib)*], where the surface subject in the *ni yotte* direct passive cannot be modified by the subject-oriented adverb. This is because the surface subject is assigned a patient  $\theta$ -role by the passive verb in the original position” (2013:352). What he wants to say is that *gakusei-ga* in (*ia*) receives external (i.e. subject)  $\theta$ -role in the matrix clause, and this  $\theta$ -role is semantically compatible with the subject-oriented adverb *orokanimo*, whereas *gakusei-ga* in (*ib*) cannot appear with the adverb, since it is an object as far as its  $\theta$ -role is concerned.

However, I am not sure if I detect the claimed difference in grammaticality between these two sentences, so let me just say the following two things. First, *orokanimo* isn’t a subject-oriented adverb; it is an adverb that expresses the speaker’s attitude toward the individual/party that is responsible for what is expressed by the sentence to which it is added. This is clear in an example like (*ii*), where *orokanimo* does not describe the stupidity of the subject of the sentence, namely, *syokuryō-ga* ‘food-NOM’; see the Appendix.

- (ii) Orokanimō, ōku-no syokuryō-ga suter-are-te iru.  
 stupidly many-GEN food-NOM dump-PASS-PROG be  
 ‘Stupidly, a lot of food is being dumped.’

Second, the claimed ungrammaticality of (*ib*) cannot be due to the fact that *gakusei-ga* is an underlying object, since if we remove *keisatu-ni yotte*, this direct passive sentence becomes totally grammatical, as in (*iii*).

- (iii) Gakusei-ga orokanimō taihos-are-ta.  
 ‘Stupidly, the students were arrested.’

Removing the PP adjunct doesn’t affect the  $\theta$ -role of *gakusei-ga* in (*iii*), so the compatibility between this subject and *orokanimō* is obvious, which directly argues against Hoshi’s explanation of the degraded status of (*ib*). If (*ib*) sounds funny at all, it must be due to the combination of *orokanimō* and *keisatu-ni yotte*.

## Appendix

The following is a list of actual examples of *orokanimō* ‘stupidly’ that show that this adverb is not syntactically subject-oriented.

- (A) ところが愚かにも、いまだに核兵器の強力化と配備の拡大が続けられている。  
 (三田健二郎「平和憲法・9条を守る岩手の会ニュース No. 36」2008年8月6日)
- (B) 愚かにもこうした商品は救済されているため、…  
 (ロイター「コラム：中国信託商品の恐るべきリスク」2014年2月20日)
- (C) ジャケットもあったのね、そんなことが人を愚かにもうれしくしてくれる。  
 (西村玲子「西村玲子の装い張：捨てられないコート」毎日新聞 2016年12月18日朝刊)

- (D) 今人がやっているお茶事というものは、驚くべき無力平凡の結果として、まったく意識なしに、おろかにも人間の自由を束縛するものである。

(北大路魯山人「茶美生活」)

(N.B. Here, *orokanimo* describes people who do tea ceremonies, not tea ceremonies themselves.)